

Testimony by Mr. Stephen Gregory, Chairman of the Board of the English-language editions of *The Epoch Times*, on behalf of the Epoch Group
At the Hearing on
Falun Gong and China's Continuing War on Human Rights
Before the House Committee on International Relations
Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights and International Operations
July 21, 2005

Who Wrote the *Nine Commentaries*?

Agents from the National Security Bureau (NSB) paid Ms. Li Guo in Guangzhou City, China a visit in January, 2005. They said they had a message from the central government in Beijing they wanted her to deliver to her younger sister, Ms. Jun Guo, a resident of Maryland. In dialogue that could have been taken from a Hollywood gangster movie, they asked Jun Guo to pay attention to her "safety," and said that "We care for her safety. Her four children go to school in Washington D.C. in the U.S. We are very clear about that." They asked Ms. Li Guo to tell Ms. Jun Guo they would like her to come to China for a meeting, where any issues could be settled.

Ms. Li Guo is a professor and vice-chair of the psychology department at Zhongshan University in Guangzhou. Ms. Jun Guo is the editor-in-chief of the Chinese-language editions of *The Epoch Times*. The NSB agents told Li Guo that her sister is an "important person" because she wrote the editorial series the *Nine Commentaries on the Communist Party*.

In fact, the NSB does not know who wrote the *Nine Commentaries on the Communist Party*. The attempt to intimidate Ms. Jun Guo into returning to China is part of a widespread effort by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to find out who wrote the *Nine Commentaries*. *Chinascopes* magazine ("How the Chinese Government Came to Dominate Chinese Language Media in the United States" June, 2005) has reported that the relatives of over a dozen individuals in the Washington, D.C. area alone have received similar visits. The relatives are used to deliver threats to the family members outside China, or the relatives themselves are intimidated or threatened in an attempt to find out who wrote the *Nine Commentaries*.

The *Nine Commentaries* are a publication of *The Epoch Times*. *The Epoch Times* in fact anticipated this response by the CCP, published the *Nine Commentaries* under the name of its editorial board, and has never disclosed the names of any individuals who may have worked on it. *The Epoch Times* took these precautions because it understands very well how the CCP operates and knew the CCP could never willingly tolerate the *Nine Commentaries*' publication.

The *Nine Commentaries* are a book-length series of nine editorials that were published at the end of November and the beginning of December 2004. They set forth in detail: the massive crimes of the CCP; its rule of China through terror, lies and the control of all information; and its attempt to eradicate all traditional morality and religious belief.

The Effect of the *Nine Commentaries*

The response by the Chinese people to the *Nine Commentaries* has been dramatic. Hong Kong is the window into China. Approximately 60,000 mainland tourists visit Hong Kong daily. The first day the *Nine Commentaries* were published in Hong Kong, 30,000 copies were given out in two hours time. The next day, people were waiting to receive them, and 30,000 copies were given out in less than two hours time. Each day the number of people asking for the *Nine Commentaries* grew until *The Epoch Times* exhausted its store of newsprint. Within the first two months, 700,000 copies were given out. In Taiwan, which has 12,000 visitors to the mainland daily, over 500,000 copies of the *Nine Commentaries* were given out in the last two weeks of March. The Chinese-language website that publishes the *Nine Commentaries* received 307,000 page views between November 19, 2004, and May 31, 2005.

The *Nine Commentaries* have inspired a peaceful rejection of the CCP. Over three million Chinese have, at the time of this writing, renounced membership in the CCP or its affiliated organizations. Over 20,000 more renounce the CCP every day. Even so these numbers are just a fraction of those who want to renounce the CCP. The bulk of these withdrawals are made through a website set-up by *The Epoch Times* for this purpose, but most Chinese do not have access to the internet. Lately individuals have simply begun posting withdrawal statements on telephone poles, walls, and bulletin boards in mainland China.

These massive withdrawals from the CCP are absolutely unprecedented. They demonstrate how powerful the truth is in opposing propaganda, if only a true account can be delivered to those held in tyranny. Two recent high-profile defectors from China commented on the influence the *Nine Commentaries* had on their decision to speak out.

In an exclusive interview with *The Epoch Times* about his decision to make his defection public, Hao Fengjun, a former member of the notorious 6-10 Office tasked with exterminating Falun Gong, gave credit to the *Nine Commentaries*. “The *Nine Commentaries* expose the dark aspects of China, which are all facts. After reading the *Nine Commentaries*, I had the urge to step out.” (<http://english.epochtimes.com/news/5-6-11/29430.html>)

In another exclusive interview, Han Guangsheng, the former vice chief of the Shenyang City Public Security Bureau and former chief of the Judiciary Bureau in Shengyang City, revealed he has likewise been moved. “After carefully reading the *Nine Commentaries on the Communist Party*, I feel even more strongly that the CCP’s rule that is forced upon the Chinese people is a tragedy for the Chinese nation. Therefore, I admire very much the courage of former CCP diplomat in Sydney Chen Yonglin and former 6-10 Office officer Hao Fengjun, who came out publicly to resign from the CCP and to expose its crimes. I would like to come out to support them so that they know they are not alone.” (<http://english.epochtimes.com/news/5-7-7/30101.html>)

The examples of Hao Fengjun and Han Guangsheng demonstrate how the *Nine Commentaries* are not simply a negative critique of the CCP. They also awaken and embolden the conscience. They appeal to and teach fundamental principles of morality. They provide a way forward out of the abyss into which the CCP has lead the Chinese nation by showing how the fundamental basis of freedom and civilization lies in morality and religious belief.

Basic Facts about *The Epoch Times*

The Epoch Times began publishing a Chinese-language general interest newspaper in May, 2000. Since then, the Chinese-language edition has grown rapidly and now has a circulation of 1,179,100 copies in 28 countries, making it the most widely distributed Chinese-language newspaper in the world. The Chinese-language website receives 700,000 page views a day with 80,000 original visitors. This website has shown it is able to breakthrough the CCP's internet blockade. It receives 137,000 page views per day and 30,000 original visitors from inside mainland China.

In August of 2004 the English-language edition of *The Epoch Times* began publishing in Manhattan. In less than one year, the English-language edition has grown very fast. It is now published in eight U.S. cities, three Canadian cities, Australia and the United Kingdom. English-language editions are expected to begin publishing soon in New Zealand, Ireland, and northern Europe. *The Epoch Times* has also expanded this past year into other languages, and is now published in: French, Spanish, German, Russian, Korean, and Japanese. All of these *Epoch Times*' editions also publish a website.

Why China Harasses *The Epoch Times*

The visits by CCP agents to the family of *Epoch Times*' staff following the publication of the *Nine Commentaries* help illustrate why the CCP has carried out a systematic campaign of harassment targeting *The Epoch Times*.

The CCP has always understood that its rule depends on control over all information available to the Chinese people from outside China, and the need to indoctrinate the people of China through unrelenting propaganda. This was true in 1949 and, while the methods used by the CCP today are much slicker than before, it is still true today. If the people of China were truly to come to understand the many lies on which the Party's rule is based, the CCP's days of ruling China would come to an end. Thus, the CCP has tried to do everything it can to oppose the *Nine Commentaries*. And, more generally, it must attempt to eliminate any independent, honest media that report on China.

Since its founding, *The Epoch Times* has served as a bridge between the West and China, and covered the stories in China that the CCP does not want covered. It teaches its Chinese readers about the workings of democracy and the importance of the rule of law, human rights, and freedom. It has done so by, for instance, covering elections in the U.S. and Taiwan, and covering the so far successful struggle of the people of Hong Kong to

preserve their democratic institutions in the face of determined efforts by Beijing to take them away.

It also helps its Western and its Chinese readers understand the reality of life inside China. *The Epoch Times* revealed the Party's attempt to cover-up the SARS epidemic. It covers corruption among Party officials, tells the inside story of power plays within the Party hierarchy, reports on the massive labor unrest, the continued hounding of all democratic or internet dissidents, and on China's extreme human rights abuses. *The Epoch Times* reports on the persecution of house Christians, Catholics, Tibetan Buddhists, and Uigher Muslims.

Most importantly for this hearing today, *The Epoch Times* gives thorough coverage to the persecution of Falun Gong. This is the most important story in China today, and one that most other Chinese media will barely touch, due to pressure from the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.). Western media have for the most part had difficulty covering this story, and their coverage has been very inadequate.

In 1999 1 in 12 Chinese practiced Falun Gong. If you count the family members of those persecuted, then easily 25% of all Chinese are directly affected by the persecution.

This persecution reveals the essence of the rule of the CCP in China. It shows how the CCP uses a campaign of terror to attempt to prop up its own legitimacy, by attempting to portray Falun Gong as an "enemy" of China whom the Party and the people must rally together to eradicate. And it shows how this terror depends upon a massive campaign of lies.

The response of Falun Gong to this persecution demonstrates to the Chinese people that it is possible to insist on the demands of one's conscience in the face of the Party's terror, and peacefully to resist tyranny.

Thus, the attack by the CCP on *The Epoch Times* is an integral part of its persecution of Falun Gong. In order to carry out this persecution the CCP must hide it from the world, and even from its own citizens. Moreover, Falun Gong's peaceful resistance, resistance that is becoming ever more successful in countering the Party's campaign of persecution, is something the Party cannot allow any media to discuss openly.

***The Epoch Times* Covers the Persecution of Falun Gong in the U.S.—the Case of Bill Fang**

Of course, the persecution of Falun Gong also takes place here in the United States, and *The Epoch Times* has covered the resulting instances of harassment, intimidation and violence.

For instance, consider the events of September 7, 2001 in Chicago, about which *The Epoch Times* provided full coverage to Chicago's Chinese-language community. Late that afternoon three Chinese men drove up in front of the Chinese Consulate in Chicago

in a brand new black SUV. Opposite the Consulate were a small group of Falun Gong practitioners on a hunger strike in order to appeal for justice for the victims of torture in Masanjia labor camp in China. One of the practitioners, Ms. Feng Lu, walked across the street to the three men to offer them a Falun Gong flier. Two of the men got out of the SUV and stood over Ms. Lu. They harassed her sexually and threatened to beat her. Mr. Bill Fang, standing several yards away, became concerned and began to take pictures. Immediately the two chased Bill down, threw him against a fence, smashed his camera, and, according to eyewitness testimony, beat him severely. A third practitioner ducked underneath the men beating Mr. Fang and managed to save his film from the ruined camera. The two men chased her in turn, but relented when they realized police had been called. As they left, they threatened to kill Ms. Lu.

Eventually, Mr. Fang, using the pictures rescued from that day, succeeded in identifying the two men who had beaten him, and they were arrested. On November 13, 2002 Mr. Jiming Zheng pled guilty in the Circuit Court of Cook County in Chicago to the beating. Mr. Yujun Weng was tried on December 5, 2002 and also found guilty.

On Thanksgiving Day 2002, the very close ties of Mr. Jiming Zheng and Mr. Yujun Weng to the Chinese Consulate were affirmed by the acting Chinese Consul-General. Jimeng Zheng and Yujun Weng are listed as officers of the Mid-USA Fujian Association in Chicago. On Thanksgiving Day that association hosted the entire Consulate staff for a party celebrating the association's third anniversary. According to the December 4, 2002, issue of *The World Journal*, Consulate-General Shen Weilian toasted the Fujian association saying that "since Thanksgiving Day is the traditional western holiday for a family reunion, his attending the Tri-anniversary proves the intimate relation between the Chinese Consulate in Chicago and the Mid-USA Fujian Association." At the time that the Consulate-General made his toast, Jimeng Zheng had just pled guilty to beating Mr. Fang, and Yujun Weng was awaiting his own trial for the same crime. According to Mr. Fang, who visited the dinner along with Chicago police in order to arrest an individual charged with attempted obstruction of justice in his beating case, Jimeng Zheng and Yujun Weng were seated at the dinner in plain sight.

The head of the Fujian association, Mr. Zheng Liguang, in itemizing its activities, also gave evidence of its close ties to the Consulate. Indeed the association almost seems to function as an adjunct to the Consulate. Mr. Zheng listed its hosting over 10 delegation groups from China, including representatives of the Chinese National People's Congress, and participating heavily in the welcoming party for Jiang Zemin (who at that time was the paramount ruler of China) when he visited Chicago. In addition Mr. Zheng Liguang and the vice-chair of the association were two of the very few Chicagoans who had a private audience with Jiang Zemin during his visit.

The Epoch Times laid out for everyone to see the details of the beating, and the very close relations between the thugs whom the Chinese government considers to be "family."

The CCP harasses *The Epoch Times*, because its rule depends on controlling what message reaches the Chinese people. It cannot control *The Epoch Times*, and so the CCP has sought to subvert it.

The 6-10 Office Attacks *The Epoch Times*—Evidence from Hao Fengjun

The P.R.C.'s campaign of harassment of *The Epoch Times* outside China is in a sense simply an extension of its attempt to eliminate *The Epoch Times* within China. Originally, *The Epoch Times* had a staff of over 20 based inside mainland China. However, one day in December 2000 e-mails to those inside China suddenly went unreturned. All of *The Epoch Times*' staff had been swept up by the police. Many are still held in prisons, where they suffer severe abuse. Mr. Zhang Yuhui helped design and edit our first website. We learned that in November 2003 he was hung from a cross for three consecutive days. Later a picture of him was shown to his young son, who immediately turned away shouting "That is not my father." Torture had aged Zhang Yuhui so severely he was unrecognizable.

The Epoch Times staff were swept up on the orders of the 6-10 Office, an extra-constitutional office with power over all Party and government offices created for the purpose of "eradicating" Falun Gong. The 6-10 Office also turned its gaze overseas.

When Hao Fengjun left China to go to Australia to defect, he brought with him a large number of 6-10 Office documents loaded on his MP-3 player. One of those documents details a meeting held in Shenzhen on October 19-20, 2004, for the purpose of organizing the investigation of *The Epoch Times* and two other independent Chinese-language media that have also regularly reported on "sensitive" subjects that the CCP prefers were not covered, New Tang Dynasty T.V. and Sound of Hope Radio.

[...]

Tianjin City Public Security Bureau, Office of Cult-Related Crime Prevention and Administration (Formerly Tianjin City Public Security Bureau 610 Office)

Oct. 21, 2004

Bureau Chief Zhang:

From Oct. 19 to 20, the No. 26 Bureau of the Ministry of Public Security held a meeting in Shenzhen for directors of the 610 offices in the public security departments and public security bureaus in Tianjin, Beijing, Shanghai, Guangdong province, Shandong province, Jiangsu province, Shaanxi province, Hunan province and Anhui province. [...]

During the meeting, each province gave reports on their overseas investigation of the three media [*The Epoch Times*, New Tang Dynasty T.V., and Sound of Hope Radio], collected by overseas special agents.

Comrade Zhang Yue listened to our bureau's report on collecting information from the Epoch Times website and praised our work here in Tianjin. The Tanggu Branch Bureau reported on the work of the spy with code name "Investigator 102." Comrade Zhang said this spy has done well. He/she has already infiltrated into the Epoch Times in Hong Kong. The essential task now is how to best position this agent and let him/her infiltrate deeper and higher and give full play of his/her special effect. We need to have long term plan for directing this agent, we shouldn't rush. We should consider the fact that this agent wants to work for us and use our assistance to get into Hong Kong's political circle. We can make some arrangements for him/her, to help him/her release his/her burden and work for us. The Hedong Branch Bureau reported on 3 agents ("Jin T9901," "Dong 16," and "269"). All three are on good footings. The key is to direct them to obtain internal information from the Epoch Times more directly, in order to improve Tianjin's investigation over the 3 media.

2. Opinions on Deployment

This special investigation case will continue to be uniformly administered by the No. 26 Bureau, with participation from the 610 offices from the public security departments and bureaus in Tianjin and the other 8 cities and provinces. The task for the 6 provinces is to rely on the overseas secret forces to deepen overseas investigation and improve personnel arrangement. Collect criminal evidence against the 3 media's reporters, columnists, staff writers, and their connections inside China. At the same time, develop a strategic battle plan to gradually weaken the influence of the 3 media, including inserting someone into the 3 media to influence their content and create conflict among these media, forcing out the few diehard members from the 3 media, and try to stir up internal chaos. Especially try to obtain information on the true identity and activity of "Zhao Zifa" [an Epoch Times reporter who regularly interviews individuals inside mainland China] as soon as possible.

At the meeting, each local bureau was required to prepare a detailed local plan on how to implement the Ministry's deployment plan.

3. Our thoughts on Implementation

We have the following thoughts on how to implement the plan in accordance to the requirement announced at the meeting.

1) In the near future, meet with the directors, national security team leaders, and key police members of the Tanggu and Hedong branch bureaus to explore how to use four overseas agents' to their potentials, position them correctly, and investigate the 3 media. We'll try to make a detailed work plan within in one half month, submit it to the No. 26 Bureau, and begin implementation.

2) Strengthen internet monitoring of the Epoch Times, analyze its overall content to identify its characteristics, with emphasis on obtaining information about its reporters and staff writers who publish information on Falun Gong. [...]

3) Improve our bureau's investigation work mechanism. Zhao Yuezeng will be responsible for the overall administration of the case. Zhao Guoli will be in charge of overall investigation. Shi He will be in charge of training for police officers from the two branch offices. Yang Guolan will be in charge of summary of intelligence reports. Zhang Yuwei will be responsible for collecting information from our monitoring sites. Our office will take the lead to coordinate a bi-monthly standing meeting on this case with the Tanggu and Hedong branch bureaus. The purpose of the meeting will be to report the latest news on the Ministry's and other bureau's investigations, research our investigative work and troubleshooting the problems, adjust the direction of our investigation, deepen the investigation, and pass notices from No. 26 Bureau and our findings onto the Tanggu and Hedong branch bureaus in a timely manner, so that the police from the two branch bureaus can have the latest news and direct the agents in target areas to collect information.

4) Guarantee manpower, material supply and funding for this investigation. No. 26 Bureau of the Public Security Ministry has decided to allocate special funding to the local bureaus. We will provide timely financial support for the Tanggu and Hedong branch bureaus, strengthen communication with police officers who are directing the special agents, and improve their skill in working with the agents, in order to ensure Tianjin's leading role in this investigation.

How *The Epoch Times* Has Been Harassed

The P.R.C.'s harassment of *The Epoch Times* has taken three main forms: 1) the attempt to interfere with the ordinary business activities of the *The Epoch Times*; 2) the attempt to deprive *The Epoch Times* of advertising; 3) the attempt to pressure staff members of *The Epoch Times* by intimidating family members living in mainland China, which has been commented on.

1) A recent example from Los Angeles illustrates the lengths the P.R.C. will go to put *The Epoch Times* out of business.

In late February 2005 *Epoch Times*' staff noticed that a man was stealing hundreds of copies of the Chinese-language edition. They began following this man, whom they learned was named Mr. Lum, and found he spent the entire day every day driving to distribution points throughout L.A. Every day he would steal every single paper at each location, totaling thousands of papers each day. After finishing his route, Mr. Lum would take his pick-up truck full of papers to a recycling center, where he would earn a few extra dollars by selling *The Epoch Times*' press run. Every day he only stole *The Epoch Times*, although other free Chinese newspapers were available to be stolen. On the

eleventh day of the monitoring of Mr. Lum, Tony Hong, an *Epoch Times* reporter, attempted to videotape him at the recycling center. Mr. Lum saw him and drove his truck into Tony's leg. Later that day Mr. Lum was arrested for assault with a deadly weapon. He is now out of jail and awaiting trial.

If one asks the question "Who gains?" from Mr. Lum's crimes, there is only one possible answer: the P.R.C. We believe a thorough investigation of this incident will prove conclusively what is obvious on the face of it.

What is remarkable about this particular incident is how thoroughly the L.A. *Epoch Times* was able to document the thefts. In fact, ever since *The Epoch Times* began publishing in 2000, it has had to endure thefts of its papers at locations all across the United States. For instance, in March, 2005 the Brown student newspaper reported that *The Epoch Times* had been stolen regularly from the University bookstore. The thief, an elderly Chinese man, was arrested after he was observed doing this on security cameras. (http://www.brown.edu/Students/INDY/archives/2005-03-17/articles/feat-leung_communist.htm).

In addition to the theft of its papers, The Epoch Times has had to contend with several other types of interference with its doing business. For instance, on December 21, 2004, *The Epoch Times* held a forum at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. to discuss the *Nine Commentaries*. Mr. Sun Weide, the Spokesman for the Chinese Embassy, called and e-mailed Mr. John Bloom, the General Manager of the Club, requesting the forum be cancelled. The Club refused to do so, and the Chairman of the Club, Mr. John Donnelly, issued a statement rebuffing the Chinese Embassy.

On January 23, 2004 *Epoch Times* reporter Lily Sun interviewed Mr. Jun Hao, the President of the Temple University Chinese Students and Scholars Association (CSSA), at a Chinese New Year's Party organized by the CSSA. The next day another Chinese student pointed out to Hao that he might face reprisal from the Chinese Consulate in New York for agreeing to be interviewed by *The Epoch Times*. Hao sent an email to the CSSA email list, slandered reporter Lily Sun and the newspaper and claimed that he "has nothing to do" with *The Epoch Times*. He further asked that *The Epoch Times* not publish the interview and the article about the event.

This incident points how thoroughly the Chinese Embassies and Consulates work to control Chinese living here in the U.S. In fact, the P.R.C. has heavy influence over most Chinese student associations and civic associations. These organizations, which left to their own devices might be the incubators for a genuine Chinese civil society that could over time be transplanted back into China, become instead the means of enforcing Party discipline on what the CCP refers to as "overseas Chinese," while also amplifying the CCP's voice in Western society. When one receives a message from a Chinese student or civic association on a topic deemed "sensitive" by the CCP, one is most likely simply hearing the CCP's voice projected from afar.

Of course, this thorough control of Chinese society here in the U.S. allows the P.R.C. to cause all manner of difficulties for *The Epoch Times* behind the scenes, difficulties whose true cause might be invisible. Only a momentary breakdown in this control shows clearly its existence. Because Mr. Jun Hao at Temple “slipped up” and granted an interview to *The Epoch Times*, his fear of the Consulate was subsequently exposed. Of course, this incident also points out how vital for the Chinese people is the existence of an independent media, one that might give them a frame of reference independent of the CCP.

In the incident at Temple University, our reporter was interfered with indirectly by the P.R.C., due to fear of the Chinese Consulate’s reaction. On December 10, 2003 in Boston Chinese Embassy staff members attempted to interfere directly with an *Epoch Times* reporter, seeking to exclude him from covering the arrival of Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao. Officials from the Massachusetts’ Governor’s office, the Massachusetts Port Authority, the Boston police, and the U.S. Secret Service each rejected demands from the Chinese that the reporter be excluded. One Embassy staffer finally went so far as physically to block the reporter’s way. At this point a Boston policeman pushed the Embassy staffer aside so that *The Epoch Times* reporter could do his job.

On March 3, 2005 the New York office of *The Epoch Times* received over 100 harassing phone calls. The calls came in on multiple lines simultaneously, indicating some type of device was being used to make them. The staff at the office determined the calls did not originate from a fax machine. This incident occurred within the context of a campaign of harassing calls directed against Falun Gong practitioners, and many of those calls have been dialed from Beijing.

2) Potential advertisers often fear doing business with *The Epoch Times*. For instance, during the *Epoch Times*’ Chinese New Year’s Gala in February 2002, DCH Auto Group (<http://www.DCHusa.com>) in New Jersey agreed verbally to be a named sponsor and advertiser in the newspaper, at a cost of \$700 dollar for 2 tickets. *Epoch Times* newspaper sales person Frank Lee’s uncle worked there as a manager and he referred him to the manager Y.C. Tsien who handled special promotions. DCH Auto Group wrote the check and mailed it to *Epoch Times* before any contract was signed. Two days later, Lee’s uncle called Lee and stated that DCH Auto Group wanted to call it off because there was a fear that the newspaper supported Falun Gong and the Chinese government would exact revenge by not doing business with DCH Auto Group.

Another case also involved an auto shop. Guanying Xiao, the Chinese owner of a car garage in Houston, Joseph Auto Service Inc., told the *Epoch Times*’ ads saleswoman Lisa Sun that one or two Chinese Consulate officials complained to him that he had put ads in *The Epoch Times*. Since Xiao repaired all the cars of the Chinese Consulate, he was afraid of losing business. He asked *The Epoch Times* to remove his ads from the newspaper although he had signed a contract. He also asked the *Epoch Times* to keep this a secret because he didn't want the Consulate to know that he told the *Epoch Times* newspaper about it. The newspaper adhered to the contract refused to take off the ad. He then asked Lisa Sun to do him a favor: if Chinese Consulate officials call *The Epoch*

Times, please tell the caller that he got the ads for free, although he would still pay for the ads when the contract was valid.

The examples in this testimony are meant to show a general pattern of harassment whose goal is to deprive *The Epoch Times* of the conditions necessary for doing business. The incidents we can document are merely a tiny fraction of the true number. For every advertiser who has bravely reported to us the Chinese Consulate's threats, how many other advertisers have silently decided not to purchase an ad? For every individual who has rented a venue to *The Epoch Times* and has withstood the CCP's threats, how many others have simply refused to do so? For every case of the theft of newspapers that we can clearly document, how many more hundreds or thousands of such cases have taken place?

The P.R.C. and the Media—A Threat to U.S. Freedom

There is no freedom without freedom of the press. The campaign against *The Epoch Times* is part of a larger strategy by the P.R.C. to control all Chinese-language media here in the U.S.

In November 2001 the magazine *China Brief* published an invaluable article “How China's Government Is Attempting to Control Chinese Media in America.” The article reveals that since waves of immigration from mainland China began reaching the U.S. in the mid-1980s, the CCP has attempted to control all Chinese-language media in this country.

It recounts how proxies for the Chinese government bought control of both the *Sing Tao* newspaper group and the *Ming Pao Daily News*, two of the four largest Chinese-language newspapers prior to the emergence of *The Epoch Times*. Both newspapers changed their editorial stance toward China. With the Taiwan-based *World Journal*, the P.R.C. has used the promise of business ties inside China to influence the paper's editorial content. *China Brief* concluded that a majority of Chinese-language media in the U.S. are either directly run by or heavily influenced by the P.R.C.

In June 2005 the magazine *Chinascopes* (“How the Chinese Government Came to Dominate Chinese Language Media in the United States”) revisited this topic and expanded on the treatment given in the *China Brief* article. The *Chinascopes* article in particular discusses the context for China's domination of the Chinese-language media. It notes the huge disproportion between the aggressive, purposive actions of the P.R.C. to take advantage of the U.S.'s free institutions and the U.S.'s largely passive response. The U.S. has neither effectively defended U.S. institutions here at home against the P.R.C.'s challenge nor effectively projected into China media informed by the principles of a free society.

Mr. Chen Yonglin, the 1st Secretary of the Chinese Consulate-General in Sydney who announced his defection from China on June 4 this year, commented in an exclusive

interview with *The Epoch Times* on the strategies the CCP uses to control Chinese-language media outside China.

“Chen highlighted the three main avenues of media control: direct sponsorship, advertisements, and purchase of front-page coverage and broadcast time.

“Some Chinese language newspapers publish editorial articles written by CCP members, showcased on special pages set aside for this purpose. This format has been well received by Beijing, and has become a frequently used propaganda tool. The head of the Publicity Department of the CCP Central Committee has visited Australia and been very pleased by the media situation that he observed—that the voice of the CCP is reaching far into the Chinese communities. There is also an element of economic advantage for these CCP compliant media, as they are granted special privileges and access to markets in China.”
<http://english.epochtimes.com/news/5-7-14/30335.html>

Mr. Chen made headlines around the world by revealing that his job at the Sydney Consulate-General involved running a network of 1,000 spies, one of whose primary tasks was monitoring and interfering with Falun Gong practitioners and dissidents. We can be sure the work of such P.R.C. spies includes keeping tabs on the staff of *The Epoch Times*. Consider that the NSB agents in far-off Guangzhou knew how many children Ms. Jun Guo had, and where they went to school.

The domination of Chinese-language media by the P.R.C. helps assure that its hostility to democratic institutions is constantly reinforced in Chinese-language populations. This hostility to the West should not be underestimated. After the terrorist bombs exploded in London on July 7, chat rooms in the P.R.C. featured individuals cheering the terrorists. (see <http://english.epochtimes.com/news/5-7-17/30366.html>) The same shocking behavior of celebrating catastrophe occurred when the shuttle Columbia broke apart in the skies over Texas and when the twin towers came down on September 11.

U.S. policy toward China has proceeded on the basis of a profound faith in the institutions of a liberal society. The U.S. may perhaps have been too confident that exposure to our institutions and way of life will lead automatically to a liberal transformation of the P.R.C. What we see in the harassment of *The Epoch Times* is the inveterate hostility of the P.R.C. to our free institutions, and a sustained effort by the P.R.C. to transform those institutions through threats, intimidation, and economic leverage.

In rebuffing the Chinese Embassy’s attempt to lock out *The Epoch Times* from the National Press Club, John Donnelly, the Club’s Chairman, said, “We practice and defend freedom of speech, and that applies equally to all, regardless of their views... Whenever that freedom of speech is restricted for anyone or to any degree, it is imperiled in full.”

The testimony of *The Epoch Times* here today is a warning. The principle asserted by Mr. Donnelly is one familiar to all friends of constitutional government. The rights of U.S.

citizens and residents have been abridged and have been under attack here in the U.S. by a foreign state for sometime now. Rights here in the U.S. are already “imperiled in full.”

The hostility of the P.R.C. to *The Epoch Times* is plainly visible, as Embassy staffers publicly oppose the paper. However, the hostility of the P.R.C. to free media poses other more insidious threats. U.S. companies, such as Cisco Systems, have worked to censor the Chinese internet and to enable China’s internet police instantly to track down anyone who dares to try to reach independent sources of information. Yahoo! has agreed willingly to censor its own content inside China in order to have access to the China market. Google has agreed to deceive the Chinese people by redirecting searches to approved Chinese government sites.

In all of these cases major western media companies have become the handmaidens of tyranny. These actions break a crucial psychological barrier. How long before the habits of mind and the business practices learned in Beijing appear in the decisions made directly affecting business done here in the U.S.? Is the U.S. transforming China, or is China transforming us?

This hearing is an opportunity for the U.S. Congress to begin looking long and hard at the assumptions that underlie our policies toward China and to ask the question whether those assumptions enable us to protect the rights of the American people and to advance American principles around the world.

In response to the problems discussed in today’s testimony, *The Epoch Times* urges Congress to:

- 1) Find a formal means to advise the Chinese Embassy that interference with the freedom of the press in this country will not be tolerated.
- 2) Advise the F.B.I. to identify and investigate vigorously non-registered agents of the People’s Republic of China operating in the U.S.
- 3) Speak out and condemn attacks on freedom of the press here in the United States, and find means to encourage independent, Chinese-language media. By encouraging *The Epoch Times* and other independent, Chinese-language media, the Congress will defend the principle of the freedom of the press in this country, and help further the promulgation of democratic principles among Chinese-language populations inside the U.S., throughout the Chinese diaspora, and in mainland China. Strong support for the freedom of the press is absolutely necessary for the continued health of the United States.

Thank you.